Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ'makra log making, the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

After the last atụ'k race, which closes the meipimrạ'k season, the women of each group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ'k period, the mepatạmčwẹ'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place. The atụ'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ'k season.

Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõčwa society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second initiation phase, that is, during the vụ'tẹ' season. Five weeks after the beginning of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ'makra." On the day that terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ' and atụ'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ'makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ'tẹ' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

535 789 the nocturnal ones are said to promote hunting and farming. Before a hunting trip they sing of one game animal after another, recounting the species to be killed. This is really done to improve one's luck, for a hunting party that has met with failure will improvise such dances in camp in order to obtain better results at the last moment; for lack of girl dancers and singers their place is taken by men. I have not been able to discover any difference between such hunters' dances and those of daily life.

A grasshopper dance, with boys dancing in squatting posture, one behind the other, serves to promote the sweet potato crop.

ENGAGEMENT

584 The proposal emanates either from the prospective groom's kinswomen or the bride's, from the bride herself, or—probably most rarely of all—from the groom. Among the Ramkõ'kamekra, too, there are many mothers and aunts who indulge in the harmless pleasure of providing prospective husbands for their daughters and nieces—sometimes very prematurely. Such arrangements are not of course strictly binding, for no one can be coerced into wedlock. In some cases they may actually result in marriage, but for the most part the young people on coming of age do as they please, irrespective of the negotiations entered into by their kindred while the parties concerned were still in their infancy.

834 584 As children the fiancés pay no attention to each other. On attaining maturity a youth visits his betrothed in her platform bed, which she hurriedly elevates to a level directly below the roof, and shields from the sight of the other inmates by a partition of mats (p. 41). However, nobody casts prying eyes in their direction, for in this regard the Timbira display exemplary discretion and considerateness even if personally interested in the relationship of the young people.

833 584 With the noiseless agility typical of the Indians in such circumstances the lad glides into the house in the dark and up into the platform bed. If its creaking did not betray his presence, hardly any resident would notice it any more than his departure a few hours later for the plaza, where he spends the remainder of the night. Such meetings do not lead to defloration, which no lovers would hazard within a dwelling since it always takes place outside the village. Thus it happens that more than one girl who has received a suitor's visit for hours night after night over a prolonged space of time may break the engagement as a virgin. For this reason no one may claim the otherwise customary indemnity from the visitor, and the girl may enter a formal marriage with another man. Pohl already observed this bundling custom among the Põrekamekra and expressed surprise at the maintenance of virginity.[388] It is true that if a girl repeatedly enters and dissolves engagements, she ultimately loses her reputation, is no longer taken seriously by the marriageable young men, and becomes a wanton.

832 834 In so far as no special relationship contravenes, girls exhibit little reserve in contact with men well known to them; they expose themselves in their presence without a sense of shame and freely romp with them while bathing unless half the village should be watching. Anyone who wishes to remain on good terms must not balk at practical jokes, bites, pinching, and scratching as he plays with them. As a rule they grow tender and affectionate only when tired from such strenuous pleasantries. Pining lovers and gallant knights would probably make little impression on these girls, but appear stupid and ridiculous. This does not exclude such suitor's favors as relieving a girl of her load, but this is done as inconspicuously as possible. Indeed, both sexes dislike public demonstration of their feeling

[388] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SDS Timbira SDS

837 562 554 virgins; the group further comprises all divorcées and widows who do not as soon as possible enter another fixed union. Irrespective of those who were formerly wantons and subsequently became permanently married, Ponto has twelve to fifteen members of this class. They are not regarded as outcasts nor is their mode of life condemned as vicious. They arouse public displeasure only if they lure men away from their wives, and even then the man is held solely responsible. Privately and publicly the wantons are on a footing of equality in their relations with virgins and married women; they are simply not models and have certainly failed to live up to the ideal.

It took me considerable time to determine the identity of the wantons, for their behavior is devoid of impudence or boldness, even in talking with the bachelors of the tribe. To them, too, the Timbira principle applies that a man is helpless against a woman's aversion, so that there is no question of any coercion or of a wanton's obligation to yield to a man coveting her. On the contrary, they choose their lovers and, what is more, mostly in an extraordinarily discreet manner. Usually the wanton gets her brother to ask the young man she favors to bring her a piece of some game animal or something of the sort. If he consents, he immediately suggests through the intermediary a rendezvous at a specified spot in the steppe or the woods at a certain time. Thither he takes his gift and receives his reward.

837 585 Most of the wantons soon establish so permanent a relationship with their lovers as to create the impression of ceremonially wedded wives as soon as the man sleeps in her matrilineal home. Indeed, especially after the birth of children, they come to be regarded as such. So far as I was able to observe, this is even the most frequent form of union nowadays. Only a small minority fully exercise their right to take up with any man they wish. Such happenings as Von den Steinen describes for the Bororo[88] are not possible among the Timbira.

The lovers supply their mistresses in the manner stated with gifts, especially victuals, but also with other objects. If the present is such as to be unsuitable for the girl, she will turn it over to her brother, who is usually cognizant of her amours and figures as her natural protector and counselor.

[848] A pregnant wanton names all the men with whom she has had sexual relations during pregnancy, thus enabling them all to go into seclusion in the infant's interests (p. 107).

834 837 At present not a single wanton pays the least attention to moiety exogamy. My impression is that it was these wantons who first transgressed the rule and that people came to regard union with one of these girls as the normal form of matrimony.

DESIRE FOR CHILDREN

562 842 The more children parents have, the better they like it. Since there is sex equality neither boys nor girls are preferred. In 1936 six girls happened to be born one after the other, a circumstance that attracted general attention, but no unfavorable comment.

586 842 A man would leave the wife he had married as a virgin provided she proved barren. I do not know how far this was a mere pretext, for I know two childless couples who have not the least intention of separating for that reason.

782 In order to effect conception a woman breaks the egg of some bird, preferably that of a *Tinamus* species, and rubs the yolk on her body. Others invoke the sun: Smearing urucú on the palms of their hands, they go outside the village in the morning, raise their hands toward the rising sun and pray: "kedti ! iymãiykra ño,

[88] Von den Steinen, Naturvölkern, 388 f.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Properly the commandant-in-chief ought to punish incontinence, but such disciplinary action was rare and, in general, Kopkré's choice for this important office proved rather unfortunate. Contrary to ancient custom, a fair number of pepyé were already married, and these often sneaked off to their wives instead of spending the night in their cells. Anciently, transgressors with wanton women would have been forced to eat large doses of pepper; and the Apą'nyekra seated the guilty couple publicly in the plaza, which was reckoned a disgrace. In 1933 the commandant could not strictly enforce the rule because he himself was an offender; one night I myself caught not indeed his wife, but a wanton slipping into his cell. The deputy was far more scrupulous; during the entire period of segregation he slunk off only on two or three nights to caress an infant daughter in his young wife's house.

At intervals of several days the pepyé secretly met at night in the courtyard of the deputy or, at times, of the commandant—usually because of some gross breach of the rules. The penalty, if inflicted, consisted of flogging by the errand boys acting under the deputy's orders after a secret agreement between him and the commandant. The errand boys accordingly always appear in public with their rods, which are about 1.30 m. long, very thin, and flexible. At the meetings both the commandant and his deputy uttered lengthy admonitions and tirades mainly bearing on the rules of seclusion and marriage. Maintenance of the former insures a successful internment, that is, one by which the pepyé rapidly acquire, in native belief, the strength of men, being enabled to pit themselves in sport against the next older class—a matter of honor. The marriage regulations loom large, because formerly most of the pepyé married soon after the festival and moved into the houses of their mothers-in-law. In matrimony, too, the Indians' supreme rule is to avoid quarrels, let alone brawls, which were expressly branded as setting a bad example for the children, who are to be educated in the traditional mores. A spouse's industry is represented as prerequisite to a happy union, but the harangues also refer to the faults of some girls, such as frivolity, laziness, and mendacity. Further, the lectures extend to the proper behavior toward kin, especially toward the wife's relatives, to the formalized friendship bonds, and to the prerogatives of elders, who are always to be treated with reverence. Thievery and lying are denounced.

Actual conduct, it must be admitted, more or less deviates from the ideals preached, nevertheless the reality of the standards is certain; and to judge from the spontaneous remarks made to me by various pepyé, at least under the influence of the ceremonial setting, many of the youths took them very seriously.

The commandant is responsible to the council for the demeanor and prosperity of his pepyé, being blamed if the young men fall short of the standards, physical and moral, at the close of their initiation.

Between 3 A.M. and 10 P.M. the catcher makes about five daily circuits through all the houses of internment. He carries a thick, heavy cane, 1.65 m. in length, not club-fashion under his arm, but so as to lean on it in walking. In the daytime he takes his stand before the cell, at night before the door of the house of retreat, facing the plaza, and remains silent for one or two minutes, both hands laid on the upper end of his cane. Then, rocking his body to and fro, he loudly utters his "hinkõ" cry, "hõ! hõ–õ!" At the last "õ!" he stamps with his right foot, waits immobile for another minute, and then passes on to the next house.

Besides the scratchers (pl. 35, *b*), shared with all other persons who for some reason have to go into a ceremonial retreat, the pepyé have two objects peculiar to their seclusion and made only during this period.

Their club (koppo) is a narrow board, 4–6 cm. wide and 60–112 cm. long, with the